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AN EDITOR'S SILENT MORNING

Belfrage challenges government to prove its deportation case

By John T. McManus

NEARLY 15 months after the arrest of Cedric Belfrage for deportation at the demand of Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy in May, 1953, the first hearing on the case was held last Tuesday morning, Aug. 10, in the ancient Immigration Service Building in New York City.

McCarthy's demand for Belfrage's deportation followed the GUARDIAN editor's refusal to answer questions on his professional and personal activities. The McCarthy inquiry was supposedly aimed at uncovering "communist influences" in setting up a democratic press in post-war Germany, a project in which Belfrage was engaged under the direction of SHAEF in 1944-45. Belfrage was seized in New York the day after McCarthy called upon the Immigration Service to act; he was held for a month on Ellis Island before Federal Judge Edward Weinfeld ordered his release in $5,000 bail.

"BENJAMIN": Tuesday morning's hearing lasted a little more than two hours during which Belfrage did not speak one word, then was adjourned tentatively until the week of Aug. 23. At the outset the government refused to agree to a postponement and also again refused a bill of particulars. No witnesses were produced. Instead the examining officer, Max Weinman, sought to question Belfrage on a list of allegations dating back to 1937. Belfrage's chief counsel, Blanch Freedman, objected to this attempt to make him a government witness and announced he would sit mute until the case against him had been duly presented.

What followed was a rigmarole of more than 100 questions—most of them asked in double form, "Did you . . . ?" and then "Do you deny . . . ?"—possibly designed to provide a crowded press table with material for sensational "won't answer" stories before providing any witnesses. (The stories were forthcoming; only the **N. Y. Times** partly explained the obvious grounds on which Belfrage sat mute. Other papers merely headlined his silence, omitting to add that he did not refuse to testify and never said he would not, but called on the government through his attorney to establish its case first according to accepted Anglo-Saxon legal procedure, after which he would present his case.)

The questions ranged from technical details about documents recording Belfrage's admission to the U. S., his application for citizenship etc., to headline-hunting inquiries such as "Were you ever engaged in espionage activity against the British government?" (Belfrage was in war service for the British government in the U. S. from 1941-43); and "Were you ever engaged in espionage activity against the U. S.?" Topping these was the question:

(Continued on Page 3)

VITO MARCANTONIO
December 10, 1902 — August 9, 1954

A FIGHTING HEART GIVES OUT

Vito Marcantonio is dead at the age of 51

By Elmer Bendiner

AT 10 o'clock Monday morning, Aug. 9, Vito Marcantonio stepped out of the Brooklyn Bridge subway station into a driving rain and walked across City Hall Park toward his office at 11 Park Pl. At the corner of Warren St. and Broadway a policeman saw him drop his brief case and fall to the rain-swept sidewalk. When a hospital ambulance arrived Vito Marcantonio was dead of a heart attack.

The fiery little man, who had burned himself out in the cause of the people of his neighborhood and the cause of his country, died at a moment when he could not be spared. He was at the start of a campaign (petitions were to be circulated this week) that might have sent him back to a Congress where his would be the only real voice against war and fascism. For 14 years—from the early New Deal to the outbreak of war in Korea—that voice, often alone but always heard, had been raised for every proposition that would advance American democracy, against every one that would weaken, corrupt or destroy it.

FIORELLO FINDS HIM: For longer than that, in and out of office, Marc had been solving people's problems in the 18th CD, cutting red tape for people needing relief, solving family crises, saving people from dispossess orders.

When he died he was fighting for minority political rights in the courts, defending Ben Gold, president of the Intl. Fur and Leather Workers prosecuted under the Taft-Hartley law; the Communist Party, before the Subversive Activities Control Board. In his district he was fighting for tenement dwellers who faced destruction of their homes to make way for luxury apartments.

Marc had been fighting his many-fronted battle since high school. He was born Dec. 10, 1902, in Manhattan—the son of a carpenter, Samuel Marcantonio, and Angelina De Debitis, both Italian immigrants. By the end of World War I Marc was going to De Witt Clinton H. S. Fiorello H. LaGuardia, President of the Board of Aldermen, dropped by at the school and heard Marc deliver a passionate speech for old age pensions in the course of a debating exercise; thereafter he kept close tabs on Marc's progress. In 1920, Marc, at 18, led a strike of the Harlem Tenants' League (which he had helped found) and LaGuardia signed him up in the F. H. LaGuardia Political Club.

A CAREER OPENS: In 1924, while Marc was a law student at New York Univ., LaGuardia asked him to manage his Congressional campaign. He did so in a manner that some called "deafening." LaGuardia was elected to his first term in Congress and gave New Yorkers their first real taste of a Marc campaign with its wind-up flourish and, more important, its shrewd, sure grasp of people's needs.

Two years later, law degree in hand, Marc joined LaGuardia's law firm. He married Miriam A. Sanders of Ossippee, N. H., the Mrs. Marc who said goodbye to him two hours before he died.

The first public office Marc held was in 1930 as Asst. Dist. Atty. But prosecuting so little suited him that after one year he left to take up trade union cases. In 1934 LaGuardia was elected Mayor and Marc went to Congress in his place.

He was elected with GOP and City Fusion support but, with the New Deal taking shape, Marc's votes rarely fitted GOP philosophy. He became known as "the pink elephant."

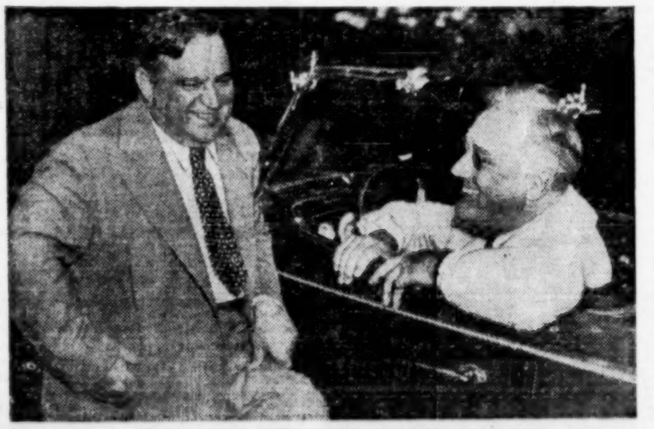
GOOD NEIGHBOR: LaGuardia had established a tradition of the open door in the 18th CD and Marc developed it into a good neighbor tradition. He sat in his office above a five-and-dime store on First Av. every day and evening he could get away from Washington, listening to his neighbors, helping them, advising them. The district, once mainly Italian, changed and Puerto Ricans filled the waiting rooms. There is a story that a schoolboy, asked by his teacher whether Puerto Rico had a representative in Congress, answered: "Sure, Marc."

Though Marc was about as Republican as FDR, his party designation was a drawback and he was defeated in the Democratic landslide of 1936.

Just before the 1938 primaries the GOP bosses read him out of the party; he won the primary anyway and had, in addition, the ALP designation. For the next 11 years Marc was repeatedly sent back to Congress, winning the GOP and ALP designations and sometimes the Democratic as well.

RESPECTED BY FOE: In Congress he championed WPA, the

(Continued on Page 9)



TWO MEN WHO INFLUENCED MARC
Fiorello H. LaGuardia and Franklin D. Roosevelt

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"You will rise again even as the grass of the field; though all men's hands be set against you, though you feel isolated and abandoned, you, the rank and file, will surely rise to spread the green mantle of democracy over this ravished American soil."—OSCAR AMERINGER (speaking to Illinois miners, 1930).

Vito Marcantonio

WHEN THE REPORT of Vito Marcantonio's death spread through the city last Monday, the calls came flooding in to the GUARDIAN office. "Is it true?" they asked in utter disbelief that turned to dismay. Is it true, everyone asked, that Marc will no longer be among us, fighting for sanity with his inspiring integrity and grand anger, his logic and rapier wit that laid bare the rotten core of Cold War America. When Marc was there you were glad to be alive and believing the way you did; the doubts vanished, to be replaced by hope and confidence. Give 'em hell, Marc, you said—and joined the battle.

He based his philosophy and his career on the real American heritage. He knew—and understood—what Tom Paine and Sam Adams said and did, and Lincoln and Frederick Douglass, and Fiorello LaGuardia and Franklin Roosevelt. He knew the worth of the American tradition. He debated parliamentary law with a Harvard law professor and threshed out a housing problem for the most newly-arrived Puerto Rican family—all in the same night, and both with love. This was his America.

HE SAID PEACE was the issue of our time, an end to senseless slaughter. He said the Korean war was an outrage against the human spirit and prophesied that Washington would rue the day of its intervention. He said the first line of defense of America's civil liberties was the defense of America's Communists. And he defended the Communist leaders with every resource at his command at the very time he was expressing serious disagreement with some of their policies. He said the city, state and nation would never breathe free until a new party with principle cleaned out the plunderers and the panderers of the corrupt old parties. He sought allies everywhere in this fight, but he never sacrificed basic principle.

VITO MARCANTONIO's was the clearest and most potent voice for progress in America. His death at this time of crisis is a desperate loss. But he has left us a great legacy: a life of integrity and a fund of knowledge and experience to shape the course of our future.

He learned through participating to the fullest in the great struggle of our time—the fight between the forces of brotherhood and life and the forces of hatred and destruction. We can learn from him. His was the road to life.

—THE EDITORS

THE MAIL BAG

For Cedric Belfrage

NEW YORK, N. Y.

All my sympathy to Cedric Belfrage in his ordeal of August or as much later as possible. It is hard luck, of course, but chin up, cheerio, and all that. Mrs. DuBois [Shirley Graham] joins me in best wishes.

W. E. B. DuBois

We are all members . . .

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

The generosity which Cedric Belfrage always manifests in promoting the cause of fellow progressive organizations was again displayed in his brilliant account of a day spent at what might be termed "the trial by fury" of the Natl. Council of American Soviet Friendship before the SACB. Shortly before she died, two years ago this month, after I had read items from the GUARDIAN to her, Muriel Draper remarked: "Cedric never forgets that 'we are members of one another'—his own needs never make him overlook the rest of us."

Among our readers many were privileged to call Muriel Draper friend or knew her by reputation, admiring profoundly what they knew. She would scorn a display of sterile grief on this second anniversary of her death. But it would gladden her heart to know that we honor her memory by successfully fulfilling two urgent tasks on which she would have been engaged—raising funds for Cedric Belfrage's fight-back and for the Council for which she worked with such inspired devotion.

Today's demands are so many and so pressing that we need no longer be ashamed of slipping the most modest piece of "folding money" into an envelope—or even abashed at anchoring to a sheet of paper with Scotch tape a piece of silver and sending it along—for "every little bit added to what you've got. . . ."

Muriel I. Symington

Dance of death

HERMOSA BEACH, CALIF.

I see that Syngman Rhee, that gentle ruler we saddled on S. Korea, has been welcomed with open arms at the White House! Shades of Washington, Jefferson and Lincoln—have we no shame at all?

Here's an idea: why not summon that "Christian gentleman" Francisco Franco to Washington, and stage "The Dance of the Slaughterers," with a shifting background in color of Spain, Guatemala and the Koje Island Prison Camp, a special feature act of the sorry spectacle of our time.

Kate C. Young

How crazy can you get dept.

VIENNA (UP)—Austrians may construct an iron curtain for fish. A six-mile $400,000 dam has been proposed to bisect Neusiedler Lake, half of which lies in communist Hungary. The dam would prevent fish from leaving the shallow Austrian end of the lake for the deeper Hungarian side when hot weather sets in.

—Bridgeport (Conn.) Post, June 2.

WASHINGTON—Because Red China has also been invited, the U. S. Government has decided to officially boycott the World's Poultry Congress at Edinburgh, Aug. 13-21.

—The Poultryman, July 23.

One-year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Winners of this week's piscatorial - barnyard doubleheader: S. Dichter, Bridgeport, Conn., and Edward Cooke, Van Etten, N. Y.

Last little push

SEATTLE, WASH.

We wives of the four Northwest Smith Act defendants—Terry Pettus, Henry Huff, Paul Bowen and John Daschbach—are writing to ask those of you who live in the Northwest (particularly Washington, Oregon, Idaho and Montana) to help us with that last little push which will assure printing our Appeal.

We are very proud of our many friends in this area who in the past two years have raised approximately $50,000 for the actual defense and $15,000 for bail. Now we are in the final stages of our appeal to the Circuit Court and lack $2,500 to underwrite the printing and legal cost of the Appeal.

Won't you drop a contribution in the mail? Checks should be made payable to Civil Rights Congress, 315 Bay Bldg., Seattle 1.

Helen Huff Marjorie Daschbach
Berta Pettus Dortha Bowen

Especially the people . . .

CHICAGO ILL.

I simply cannot understand the liberal press, including the GUARDIAN. The opinions of its readers' letters are very namby-pamby. They seem to think that Americans are being misled by their political leaders; that they are a peace-loving people; that there is a great well of righteousness in the American heart—if it could only be tapped.

As one who was born in America 60 years ago and listened to Americans over the years, I have no hesitation in saying that the character of the majority of the people in America is to make this a better and better world for fewer and fewer of the people in this world and to harness and demolish persons or people who might strive to make this a better and better world for more and more of the world's people.

J. J. McLoughlin

Listening, labor?

NOXON, MONT.

Keep the fight on for liberty for all people and especially for our American labor people. I can see that they are trying to put the AFL, the CIO and all other unions out of the way and their leaders in jail. The tougher they make it for us, the sooner labor will wake up and do something.

(Rev.) C. R. Weare

Joe Must Go

SAUK CITY, WIS.

Thank you for sending us the story on our Joe Must Go movement from the NATIONAL GUARDIAN of July 26. Our clipping service shows us that news coverage of our movement has improved quite a bit during the past few weeks and with the planning of special events—such as our recent trip to Washintgon—should continue that trend.

Ed Sachs
Public Relations Director

The angel

PARIS, FRANCE

These facts, pretty well-known in France, may be of interest concerning Genevieve de Galard Terraube, the "Angel of Dienbienphu" now in the U. S. by invitation of Congress.

Her cousin, Henri de Galard, is diplomatic correspondent of the progressive or "left-neutralist" France-Observateur, and was covering the Geneva conference at the time Dienbienphu fell. Frequent mentions of him were then made in the press; the Viet Minh delegation at Geneva conveyed to him the news of her safety and release.

The "angel" herself is certainly no angel by the current American standards. Her letters to Ho Chi Minh were decidedly good, and the one she wrote to the Vietnamese women was even better. They smacked of an unmistakably progressive trend of thought. According to reliable sources she showed them to her very close friend Gen. de Castries, the defender of Dienbienphu, and he warmly approved of them.

O. P.

Bird guide for 1954

ST. PAUL, MINN.

Vultures of profit belch golden glut
While congressional peacocks preen and strut,
Old Jim Crow croaks out his best race-hate notes
And stoolpigeons coo in their court room cotes.

Pentagon eagles now scream for H-bomb action
To spread the new democratic benefaction.
But all eyes watch a little peace dove on the wing
And a multitude of voices hail a new bird king!

Sam Pavlovic

Ya gotta watch him

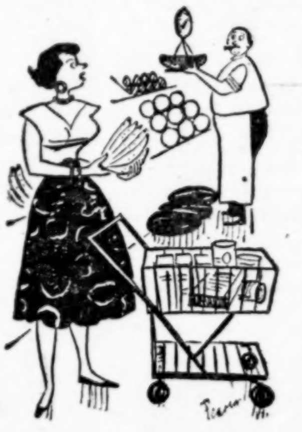
SIGNAL HILL, CALIF.

On the one hand, Ike says he's for a liberalized foreign trade program.

On the other hand, he orders a stiff tariff hike on Swiss watches.

I often wonder what makes him tick.

V. Wallace Zager



N. Y. Herald Tribune

"Are these anti-Communist bananas?"

Fear of loneliness

LORAIN, O.

What factor, above all others, constitutes the basis of opportunism? The underlying cause is fear of loneliness. People just love to be "one of the crowd." Consequently, opportunists, in one form or another, play down a frank, forthright approach to social problems on the ground that "it would isolate us from the people."

Hence, the truth—i.e., reality—(and with it, principle and necessity) become adulterated so as to become palatable to "the people." And this is just what reaction wants. First, it so terrorizes and otherwise reduces the people to such a pitiable state of conformity, that the people become incapable of perceptibly responding to the naked truth. Nonetheless, the full, naked truth should be told, regardless of how much measurable response it evokes.

For, if progressives become habituated to slurring over the truth, when the time does come (as soon it will) for reaching the ear of the people, then those slurred notes will not carry half the requisite impact that clear, powerful notes would carry.

R. Grant

Economic barometer

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Progressives need to estimate as accurately as possible whether on the economic front the slow slide of the past year will continue, or whether we are in for a sharp drop. In the former case, the people's thinking will change slowly, the general demand will be for a new New Deal. In the latter, some will be shocked into complete disillusion with the present system, as occurred 20-odd years ago.

A good overall economic barometer is railway freight car-loadings. They reflect orders for raw materials to be stock-piled and processed, orders for manufacurers to wholesalers, warehouses and retailers, and finally purchases for consumption both as capital goods and for private use. The N.Y. Times (July 25) reports that even if fourth-quarter loadings equal those for the third quarter now forecast, the number for the full year "would make 1954's volume the smallest since 1939."

1939 was a crisis year with 10,000,000 unemployed. Carloadings are only one of many signs that next year will witness a sudden drop to a crisis economy. If this is true, progressives must be prepared to answer very fundamental questions about our society with appropriate solutions. I should like to see a discussion of economic perspectives by experts in the GUARDIAN. Will we slide, or will we bust? Will most of the people only want reform, or will many also say, as in 1929-39: "Russia Has a Plan. Why Not We?"

William Mandel

Barbara Nestor's 70th

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Barbara Nestor, a long-time progressive, will be honored at the Park Manor Sat., Aug. 28, when Los Angeles friends help celebrate her 70th birthday. Mrs. Nestor's years of activity read like the history of the fight for progress in our country. She was part of the great union organizing drives that brought decent working conditions to millions of wage earners. During the depression, she was in the middle of the fight to organize the unemployed and the Worker's Alliance. She worked actively in the anti-fascist movement for Spanish democracy.

Mrs. Nestor was a key figure in qualifying the Independent Progressive Party on the ballot. The event on the 28th will include a dramatization of Mrs. Nestor's years of activity titled "This Is Your Life Too."

Friends of Barbara Nestor

A perfect marriage

CHICAGO, ILL.

Encleased please find $6 check to cover two renewals. You will note, however, a change in the mailing address on one, inasmuch as the writer has married another of your subscribers. The writer shall continue the monthly pledge and her husband shall initiate same.

Evelyn Sugg Salk

•

Shop the sensible way. Use Guardian Buying Service.

GUARDIAN EDITOR'S DEPORTATION FIGHT

Joe must go — Belfrage must stay!

THE MOVE TO DEPORT CEDRIC BELFRAGE—ordered by Senator McCarthy—must be recognized by every GUARDIAN reader as an outright attack on this newsweekly and those it serves throughout the U. S.

McCarthy issued his orders to a somewhat bewildered Immigration Service official who sat beside him at the May, 1953, hearing where Belfrage and GUARDIAN exec. editor James Aronson declined to answer Joe's unconstitutional questions. Joe's committee was ostensibly inquiring into the functioning of the military government's Psychological Warfare Division in Germany in 1944-45, one of whose jobs was to replace the Nazi press with a democratic press.

That task was under the Supreme Allied Command in Europe (SHAEF) and personally directed by Brig. Gen. Robert A. McClure under Gen. Eisenhower. Belfrage was among, half a hundred or more allied journalists assigned the day-to-day job of setting up newspapers, locating equipment, screening licensees and supervising operation. Among PWD-SHAEF's top officials who approved every step taken were C. D. Jackson of Time-Life-Fortune, recently resigned as Eisenhower's psychological cold-warfare chief; William S. Paley of the Columbia Broadcasting Co., who was operations chief in Germany directly under McClure; and others now highly-placed in government or in journalism.

Gen. McClure was NOT summoned by the McCarthy Committee; neither was Col. Paley nor Col. Jackson, nor any other individual involved in the operation, top to bottom, EXCEPT Cedric Belfrage and James Aronson.

DO YOU THINK IT A COINCIDENCE that Belfrage and Aronson, now teamed together in the editorship of the GUARDIAN, were the ONLY persons summoned by McCarthy of Gen. McClure's entire team in World War II?

Or, let's put it this way: do you believe that these two men would have been singled out for McCarthy inquisition if they had NOT been the founders and editors of the GUARDIAN?

Finally, do you think Belfrage would today be facing deportation had it not been for his aggressive leadership of the only national progressive newsweekly in the U. S.? If the GUARDIAN had not opposed the Korean War from its opening gun, exposed the Rosenberg frame-up to the nation and the world, led many a good fight against the plunderers of America, against their plans for a police state and war on the socialist world—and against McCarthy himself and all manifestations of McCarthyism?

THE PHARISEES OF THE "FREE WORLD" believe in destroying the institutions of free expression by "legal" means—and the attack on Belfrage is an attempt to crush the GUARDIAN with legal costs it cannot meet out of normal income and still stay in publication.

The GUARDIAN's fight for its editor's freedom and right to citizenship has already cost thousands. But now the real costs begin—the exhaustive research indicated by the scope of the government's questions propounded last Tuesday; the routing of the McCarthy-McCarran flock of stoolpigeons by informed and relentless cross-examination; the legal costs from hearing to hearing and perhaps, later, from court to court.

Belfrage Fight-Back Fund
17 Murray St., N. Y. C. 7

Here's my contribution of $........ toward winning the Belfrage fight and keeping the paper rolling.

Name ....

Address ....

City.................... Zone...... State..........

What will these costs come to? How can we tell? But each $1,000 spent in this fight is equivalent to one weekly printing bill—a modest estimate of the cost of a fight such as this is at least $15,000.

Thus far toward this double expense the $1-$5 people, as always, have been the quickest to respond. Most of the rest remain to be heard from.

We need the help of ALL — NOW. Have you offered yours?

Belfrage case

(Continued from Page 1)

"Did the Russians refer to you as 'Benjamin' in connection with your espionage activities?"

DRONING QUESTIONS: The small 8th-floor hearing room at 70 Columbus Av. was almost filled when the hearing started and overflowed before the end. It was presided over by Inquiry Officer Aaron Maltin for the Immigration Service. At the start, Mrs. Freedman challenged the validity of the whole hearing procedure that was being afforded Belfrage, in that it did not comport with minimum standards of constitutional due process. She moved that the hearing be set aside under the due process clause of the Fifth Amendment. When the motion was denied, she said Belfrage would refuse to take the stand as a government witness. Examining Officer Weinman's one-sided question bee to the unsworn "witness," who sat throughout taking notes, then started and droned on for nearly two hours.

Some of this procedure was laugh-provoking, as when Weinman demanded that Belfrage identify photostats of a 1937 Los Angeles telephone book to prove that he had a telephone when he lived there. In the main, the questions followed the line of similar questioning of Belfrage by the Velde Committee early last year. Former film critic Belfrage commented:

"It was rather like a Poverty Row re-make of a Grade B horse opera."

"DID YOU REBUT?" As an indication of what kind of case will be mounted against Belfrage when the government starts to call witnesses, the questions covering 17 years revealed interest in

THE
JOHN PETER ZENGER
MEMORIAL

CEDRIC BELFRAGE

Before the John Peter Zenger memorial plaque in New York

his activities in Hollywood as a writer in the Thirties; in his travels and writings here and abroad through 1939; in his war service here and in Germany, 1941 through 1945; and the period since including his GUARDIAN editorship.

Questions relating to the GUARDIAN period asked whether or not Belfrage had publicly urged clemency for Ethel and Julius Rosenberg; whether he had requested the editor of the Paris **Tribune des Nations** to give wide publicity to the Rosenberg Case; whether he had written a GUARDIAN article on July 18, 1949, "rebutting the idea of an invasion of all communist countries by spies to destroy communism" (Operation X). He was also asked about a number of public appearances for peace, for Soviet-American friendship and in behalf of many political victims in the U. S., including the Hollywood Ten and Communist Party leaders. One question asked whether he ever publicly advocated "peace camps to instruct Americans who are afraid of the Soviet Union."

GERMAN "CHARGES": Concerning his work in Germany (where he and James Aronson first met and began informal talks about launching the GUARDIAN back in the U. S.), Belfrage was asked whether he "had anything to do with placing three well-known communists" as editors of the **Frankfurter Rundschau**; whether he had corresponded since the war with W. K. Gerst (Catholic ex-editor of the **Rundschau**) in connection with Gerst's "communist courier activities between E. and W. Germany"; whether he wrote an article in **Harper's Magazine** in 1948 about Emil Carlebach, who spent the whole Nazi period in concentration camps and was fired from the **Rundschau** board of editors by U. S. authorities. The questions seemed to open up the whole question of the nature of the Roosevelt policy and directives concerning the democratization of Germany, of who followed the directives and who sabotaged and reversed them to favor Nazis against anti-Nazis.

In 1946 the John Simon Guggenheim Foundation gave Belfrage a fellowship to write a study of the press-democratizing operation in Germany. The book, which tells the full story, was purchased for U. S. publication by Cameron & Kahn Inc. of New York, and will probably appear next month.

SORRY

Apologies are in order all around for a typographical error in last week's GUARDIAN (p. 5) in which the Alsop brothers were described as "communists." The word should of course have been "columnists."

The Disunited Press

The April issue of Noticiero de CTAL, organ of the Latin American Workers Fedn., contrasted these news items covering the same event:

SOUTH KOREAN WIDOWS INSULT SYNGMAN RHEE

Seoul (Reuters)—War widows interrupted a religious ceremony in memory of S. Koreans fallen on the battlefields by shouting insults at Syngman Rhee. The women screamed: "We want our husbands. We don't want rites."

S. KOREAN WOMEN DEMONSTRATE LOYALTY TO SYNGMAN RHEE

Seoul (United Press)—After taking part in a ceremony commemorating the war dead, President Syngman Rhee and his wife were almost injured by a crowd which vociferously acclaimed them as they left the ceremony.

WHITE HOUSE CRACKS WHIP ON BROWNELL BILLS

Congress passes 'immunity' bill to get around Fifth Amendment; wiretap bill blocked for time being; Jenner guns for labor

By Lawrence Emery

THE AGE-OLD protection of the Fifth Amendment against forced political confession seemed doomed last week: on Aug. 4 the House of Representatives voted 293 to 55 to compel testimony from dissenters by witch-hunting committees through a grant of "immunity" from prosecution for anything a witness might say against himself. The purpose: to turn all witnesses into informers by forcing them to name names and to produce books, records and membership lists of organizations on pain of an automatic prison term for "contempt." The Senate had passed a similar measure on July 9, 1953. Because of minor differences in the two bills, the matter last week was in the hands of a joint House-Senate conference.

Death for lurking

On July 8 Rep. Brooks (D-Va.) introduced in the House a new bill (H. R. 9843) providing that

> ". . . any person known to be a Communist who is found lurking as a spy . . . on conviction shall be punished by death."

Few spoke up; one of the clearest voices was Emanuel Celler's (D-N. Y.):

> "This bill will encourage informers, will indemnify rogues. They would testify the way the committees want. They would be led into speculation and exaggeration and lies concerning the political views and associations of friends and associates. Some would testify to anything to save their own skins. This testimony would be cut to suit the cloth of the examiner. The malevolent, the wicked and the frightened would testify as desired. The innocent, whose testimony would conflict with these informants, would be prosecuted for perjury."

WHITE HOUSE GUNS: Neither the House nor Senate version of the measure is tough enough for the Eisenhower Administration, which demands that full and final authority for granting "immunity" be in the hands of the Attorney General. The House bill provides that "immunity" shall be conferred by a federal judge; the Senate measure leaves it up to either house of Congress or their committees, which would have the right to overrule the Attorney General if he opposed a grant of "immunity" in a given case. How this conflict will be resolved no one knew last week, but everyone in Washington did know that White House pressure for the whole Administration package of "anti-subversive" legislation was overwhelming.

Once before in U. S. history an "immunity" law superseded the Fifth Amendment for five years beginning in 1857, but as Celler told the House:

> "Congress repealed the statute in horror of the mischief it had induced."

COURT TESTS? Questions raised by the new legislation remained largely unanswered last week. For one thing, it appeared that the Supreme Court has never ruled on the constitutionality of empowering legislative bodies to grant "immunity" in exchange for testimony. Another question involves the possible retroactive nature of the new measure; on the face of it, it seemed likely that any witness who ever invoked the Fifth Amendment before any Congressional committee or grand jury could be recalled and confronted with the choice of talking or going to jail for "contempt." Such answers awaited whatever final version of the measure is signed into law—or vetoed—by President Eisenhower.

Administration pressure for other items in the Brownell "package"—listed as "must" legislation by the President—increased last week. Senate Majority Leader Knowland announced that he would press for immediate action on at least three major "anti-subversive" bills as soon as Senate debate is concluded on the Administration farm program. These were:

- A bill to destroy any trade union or other organization or business deemed "infiltrated" by Communists;
- A bill to discharge from private industry any person deemed by the Attorney General likely to commit a "subversive" act in the future;
- A bill providing the death penalty for espionage in peacetime and setting up a vast dragnet by enlarging and diffusing the scope of existing legislation dealing with espionage and sabotage. (This measure has already passed the House).

JENNER PRODS: Sen. William E. Jenner (R-Ind.), chairman of the Internal Security subcommittee, gave a nudge to the anti-union bill by releasing secret testimony of two paid informers given early this year with this comment:

> "The labor field is still regarded by the Communists as a principal training ground for development of a militant force directed to the breakdown of our government."

The anti-union bill and the blacklist measure were temporarily sidetracked in the House when the Judiciary Committee voted to set up a special commission to "study" the issues involved, but both items can still be reported to the floor at any time by the Committee on Un-American Activities. Last week Sen. Magnuson (D-Wash.) offered a bill providing for a similar "study" commission in the upper chamber but White House pressure for passage this session was stepped up.

The police state takes shape

Asking a House subcommittee June 15 for $918,000 extra appropriations this year for 1,000 additional prisoners and a new Terminal Island (Calif.) prison, U. S. Prisons Bureau director James Bennett said the government is planning increased long-term prison capacity to take care of persons convicted under "anti-Communist" legislation now before Congress.

The Prisons Bureau now has 20,049 prisoners compared with 18,727 last year. Commitments under the immigration laws—3,991 from July 1953 to May 1954, compared with 2,895 a year earlier—are the chief cause of the increase.

WIRETAPPING BLOCKED: One of Brownell's favorite bills—to legalize wiretap evidence—was temporarily blocked in the Senate Judiciary Committee headed by William Langer (R-N. D.). Langer himself refused to vote on the measure on the ground that he is so biased against it that he could not be objective; the result on Aug. 9 was a 7 to 7 tie vote to table the bill. This still left the measure open to a vote to report it to the floor of the Senate, but Langer insisted that the result would again be a 7-7 tie which would kill it for this Congress.

What is the revolutionary U.S. government doing in the UN?

(Letter to editor of Halifax Mail-Star, *Halifax, N. S., July 25.)*

AS a loyal subject of Her Gracious Majesty Queen Elizabeth II (God Bless Her) I should like to know by what right the present government of the former American Colonies of Great Britain, the now so-called United States of America, is seated at the United Nations, it having wrested power from the British and rightful government of the American Colonies in 1776 by force and violence and armed aggression.

On July 4, 1776, the usurpers of government of the thus forcibly alienated British American Colonies, in order to justify their aggression and to pacify the poor, deluded dupes they had misled into fighting for them, solemnly issued the following balderdash:

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these Rights, Governments are instituted among men, deriving their just power from the consent of the governed. That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness."

AS a result, Sir, we now see force and violence and aggression breaking out all over the place, by Jove! Everybody seems to think they have the unalienable right to overthrow, alter and abolish their government by means that seem most unlikely to be effective in the pursuit of Life, Liberty and Happiness, which, by Jupiter! is a lot of bally rot and is nothing but an invitation to rebel against constituted authority. As everyone knows—or by this time should know—only those who rise to the top and are a success in life are entitled to Life, Liberty and Happiness. Everybody else must work for a living.

So, egad, Sir! As a loyal British subject I consider somebody should jolly well bring up this whole matter of the rebel States of America shooting their way into the United Nations by means of force and violence, having seized power thereby from the legal government of the country, to wit: the Government of Great Britain.

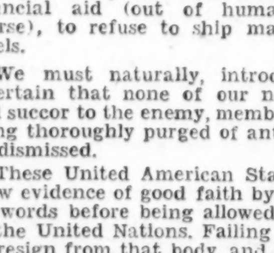
In the meantime we should carry on a cold war, voting millions of pounds sterling to saboteurs, spies, and underground movements to subvert the populace and attempt to drive a wedge between these American States and their friends (if they have any). We could support, by lend lease, armed intervention into the country by Mexican troops. In this way we could shield ourselves from criticism as aggressors, which of course, we are not, our role being that of liberators of the American Colonists from self-seeking despots and dictators.

WE should establish a cordon sanitaire between the loyal Dominion of Canada and these American States, with whom we should refuse to trade, and compel nations friendly towards colonialism, who previously had been well primed with lavish financial aid (out of humanitarian reasons, of course), to refuse to ship materials of war to the rebels.

We must naturally, introduce loyalty tests to ascertain that none of our nationals is giving aid and succor to the enemy, members of the Civil Service being thoroughly purged of anti-colonial sympathies, or dismissed.

These United American States must be asked to show evidence of good faith by deeds and not merely by words before being allowed to resume their seat in the United Nations. Failing to do this, we should all resign from that body, and leave these Americans in splendid isolation. What! What! !

I remain, Sir,
Your loyal and obedient servant,
MAJOR-GENERAL SIR REGINALD PONSONBY BUSBY-BROWN (retired)
Late of the 6th Royal Punjab Punkawallers
Wescut in the Wash,
Wessex, England.

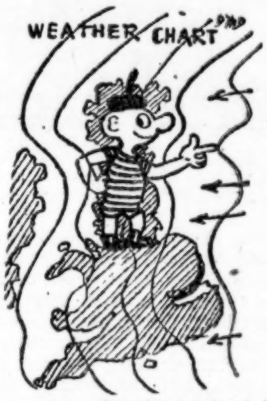


See you
Aug. 27-29
at Guardian's
week end at
White Lake
Lodge

East-West trade: The promise, prospect, and the problems

By Tabitha Petran

IN THE wake of the collapse of Washington's war plans in Asia, a new emphasis was emerging in the Western world. Generals and diplomats still strove—with little success—to knock together a S.E. Asia "defense pact"; worked ceaselessly to build a chain of war bases and alliances from Spain across the Balkans and Middle East to Pakistan; dictated rejection of the Soviet proposal for an early Big Four conference to end the division of Europe. Yet throughout the West the focus was shifting from soldiers and statesmen who denied co-existence to merchants and traders—who prepared to give it substance as the first major break in the U.S.-dictated embargo against the socialist world goes into effect.



Drawing by Dyad, London

"Further outlook, bright easterly trade winds."

In mid-August controls were lifted on roughly a third of the goods hitherto banned to the U.S.S.R. and Eastern Europe. (China was not affected.) In terms of the E.-W. trade potential, this is but a small gain. The **Wall St. Journal** (8/3) estimated it would add $10 million to Britain's $45 million average yearly sales to the Soviet bloc. But already this year $56 million in Soviet-bloc orders to Britain have been held up by the embargo. The potential is suggested by Moscow's offer last winter to buy $1.2 billion worth of British goods over the next three years—and by China's to buy $140 million next year—if the embargo were lifted.

RESTIVE ALLIES: W. Europe is already demanding removal of more controls. With world shipbuilding declining now at more than double the rate of early 1954, U.S. refusal to lift the ban on freighters, tankers and other large ships was a bitter blow to slump-threatened Western shipbuilding industries.

The U.S., whose shipbuilding industry dropped from third to sixth place this year, will fight to retain the embargo on ships at a meeting next month called to thrash out this question. In October Washington faces still another E.-W. trade conference—at Geneva under UN auspices. Its aim will be a much more complete trade revival than is possible under present restrictions.

STEPS TO COLLAPSE: Economic realities dictate that the present breach in the Washington-erected dike against E.-W. trade will be widened. Washington, desperately holding a thumb in the breach, makes moves with the other hand which can only hasten the collapse of the entire structure:

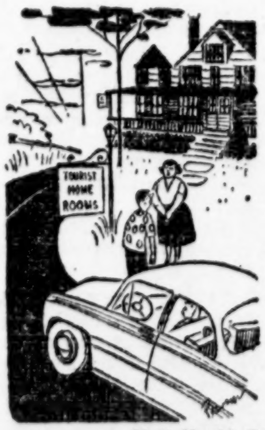
- **Tariff Boosts:** The 50% tariff rise on imported watches—first major industrial increase in 18 years—may open a Pandora's box of such increases. The House subsequently approved a hardwood tariff hike—in violation of a U.S. commitment under GATT (the Genl. Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.) An "escape clause" in U.S. trade agreements permits the U.S. to raise duties already set; this is bitterly resented by other capitalist countries, most of whom were forced by the U.S. to join GATT and thereby give up since 1949 complete tariff autonomy. Now these countries are serving notice that unless the U.S. makes "honest" trade agreements they will no longer be bound by GATT, a development foreshadowing "a first-class trade war" (**N.Y. Times**, 8/11). Washington's decided turn toward protectionism coincides with intense pressure on other countries to reduce discrimination against dollar goods.

- **Dumping Farm Surpluses:** Foreign-aid funds will be "used pretty openly this year to subsidize export of surplus U.S. goods" (**Newsweek**, 7/19). The program now provides for disposal of half a billion dollars' worth of farm surpluses abroad. Washington's only program for reducing its $7-8 billion surplus farm stocks is "aggressive sales abroad at cut-rate prices" (**Business Week**, 5/29). With enough surplus butter and cheese to supply respectively 40% and 50% of the world's export market for a year, and enough dried milk for the whole world export market for 2½ years (and so on for other products), this program threatens all capitalist countries. Argentina recently demanded a world conference on farm-surplus disposal, complaining that the U.S. in May offered for export 300 million lbs. of linseed oil from its strategic reserve—equivalent to a full year's Argentine production. Uruguay accused the U.S. of selling Britain $20 million of surplus beef just in time to block a British-Uruguayan beef agreement.

- **Attack on UN Economic Activities:** Strong U.S. attacks on UN's three regional commissions—for Latin America, the Far East, Europe—featured the recent UN Economic & Social Council session at Geneva. These commissions have made important contributions to the development of their respective areas. In line with this policy was the House's refusal last month to appropriate a cent for UN technical aid (including $9.9 million already pledged)—an action which, if sustained in the Senate, may end this popular UN project.

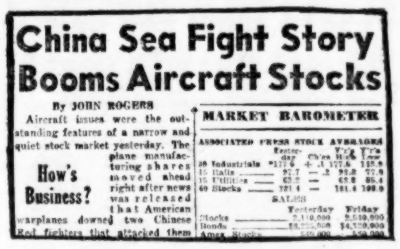
INDEPENDENCE THE GOAL: These U.S. moves are already slowing Allied moves toward trade liberalization, and increasing the pressure for trade with the East (**Business Week**, 8/7), at a time when relative economic prosperity enables Britain and W. Europe to act with some independence.

The prosperity is uneven and precarious, resting as it does on a record $7 billion in U.S. aid and the fall of raw-material prices since the Korean truce (which means cheaper imports while export prices remain high). U.S. aid, largely military, has converted a large sector of Europe's industrial installations to war and has proved unproductive, as the French Commission on the National Economy, then headed by Pierre Mendes-France, reported in June. To achieve independence of that aid is not only the goal of Mendes-France's economic program but an imperative for all allied economies if they are to see a real improvement.



N. Y. Herald Tribune

"All our rooms are rented to the government. They store surplus wheat in them."



China Sea Fight Story Booms Aircraft Stocks

By JOHN ROGERS

Aircraft issues were the outstanding features of a narrow and quiet stock market yesterday. The plane manufacturing shares moved ahead right after news was released that American warplanes downed two Chinese Red fighters that attacked them

How's Business?

MARKET BAROMETER

ASSOCIATED PRESS STOCK AVERAGES

SALES

N. .Y Daily News, July 27, 1954

THE NEW MARKETS: The healthy factor in W. Europe is its expanded trade, including especially trade with the East. A growing reliance on trade with the socialist world—which offers a stable expanding market, based on growing industrialization and rising living standards—is already a trend.

The embargo has not halted socialist industrialization: E. Europe's industrial output rose 49 to 81% in the last three years while that of capitalist Europe rose 0 to 14% (UN Survey). China's industrial production has doubled since 1949. The embargo has rather sped the expansion of the Soviet machine-tool industry and the standardization of Soviet engineering designs throughout half the world. This industrialization drive offers capitalist nations a huge market for steel and capital goods, most of which have been embargoed. Stagnation of W. European and U.S. steel production—socialist-world production has jumped 5 million tons every year since 1949, W. Europe's an average of 3,500 tons a year—shows whose industry has been hurt by the embargo.

The socialist world is in the market for consumer goods and farm surpluses for which it will exchange machinery and strategic materials. The U.S. turned down its offer to buy butter at 5c above the world price. But E. European offers to buy Brazil's cotton surplus, Argentine's wheat, Chile's copper, etc., may soon prove irresistible.

A FRIEND IN NEED: A blueprint of socialist-world economic relations with under-developed countries is being drawn which shows that developed capitalist countries will have to get into this trade or stagnate in isolation. The U.S.S.R. recently offered Latin America and Asia (largely one-crop countries at the mercy of violent raw-material price fluctuations) a permanent market at stable prices for their raw materials—along with substantial long-term credits and agreement to accept payment in national currencies.

An expanding technical aid program is an integral part of the blueprint. The U.S.S.R. has not only begun contributing to UN's Technical Assistance Fund, but also has signed technical aid agreements with Afghanistan and India. It has invited Asian countries to send specialists for technical training on Soviet railroads operating in country similar to their own; offered to make railroad equipment available to these nations for training purposes. Similar training programs are being pushed for mining, construction and operation of power stations, rubber processing, etc. This fall, delegates from Latin America, Asia, the Middle East will visit the U.S.S.R. at Soviet expense to study industrial and agricultural development. The U.S.S.R.'s experience in carrying out its huge technical aid program for China is a convincing talking-point in Asia.

WHICH WAY OUT? The world is going to be industrialized with or without U.S. participation. For Americans facing the war-economy dilemma, both of whose horns read "war and depression," trade with the socialist world means more than statistics can suggest.

The statistics indicate that even now such depressed industries as agricultural and textile machinery, fabricated metal products, drugs, etc., could find some revival in trade with the East. Today's realities make such trade imperative if the U.S. is to find a way out of the disastrous dilemmas of its war economy.

•

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THE CORTS REACH CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Case of the Polish stowaway

ON Friday, July 30, American doctors Joseph and Ruth Cort were prepared to sail from England aboard the Polish ship Jaroslaw Dabrowski. After a three-month campaign for their asylum in Britain waged by an overwhelming segment of British opinion (GUARDIAN, 7/12), with their request for British asylum denied, they were on their way to accept the Czechoslovak government's invitation to live and work there.

On Saturday every American reporter in London went aboard the ship. There they discovered a better story. Under detention on the ship was Antoni Klimowicz, a stowaway whom the Polish government said was discharged from the Polish merchant marine as a criminal and was "wanted for criminal offenses." He had also been punished twice by British authorities for smuggling.

THE GRAND RESCUE: The customary procedure is for authorities to return stowaways to their own country; and British officials on Friday had given the ship's captain a written order that Klimowicz be taken out of the port, and Klimowicz a written refusal of permission to land. But on Saturday, when the press was there, the entire machinery of the British government went into action to grant Klimowicz asylum in Britain. The British police produced what the Polish government called "a fictitious accusation" that Klimowicz was wanted by a British court for stealing £10:13.0. The **New Statesman & Nation** thus described what happened:

> "Sir Frank Newsam, the Permanent Secy., remained on duty for twenty-four hours. Sir John Nott-Bower became the first Police Commissioner in the history of the Police Force to be at Scotland Yard on the Saturday of the August holiday. The Lord Chief Justice issued a writ of habeas corpus from his Chelsea home, and Sir Winston Churchill directed operations from Westerham. Finally, 120 police officers in a flotilla of launches surrounded the ship and rescued the stowaway, after searching Dr. Cort's cabin."

THE HERO: The Polish government protested that the violation of the rights of a Polish ship in a British port, the use of violence, the abuse of the persons of Polish seamen, unlawful removal of Klimowicz, and violation of the rights of the Polish flag were contrary to international law. They demanded the return of Klimowicz and compensation for damages from the delay of the ship and beating of the seamen.

While Klimowicz described his "escape from communism" before two dozen reporters, film and TV cameras, a BBC and Radio Free Europe hookup on Aug. 8, the Czech radio announced the Corts had reached Prague.

THE MIDDLE EAST ALLIANCE

Turkey: new strategic hinge to Washington's war plans

By Gordon Schaffer
Special to the Guardian

LONDON

IN the last sentence of his speech concluding the debate on the agreement to evacuate the Suez Canal, Foreign Secy. Eden said:

> "It is only in the last three months that we have been able to obtain from the Egyptian government the undertaking in respect of Turkey. Without that undertaking the agreement was not one which would have been satisfactory."

The agreement was that an attack on Turkey would give Britain the right to resume control of the Canal. Eden also announced the government's intention not only to establish a headquarters in Cyprus, but also to increase British forces in Libya, Jordan and Aden—thus bringing them "nearer to the possible enemy." Everybody in the House knew he meant the Soviet Union.

War Secy. Anthony Head, opening the debate, spoke of the progress made in re-equipping the Turkish army with modern arms and technical advice provided by the U.S. "That being so," he said, "the likelihood of our being able to take part in a more forward strategy on Turkey's right flank in defense of the Middle East is very much increased."

THE LIFEBELT: What is all this about? Is anybody threatening Turkey? On the contrary: the U.S.S.R. had a number of questions which it could quite properly ask Turkey to discuss, but went out of its way to push them aside in the interests of peace and friendship. But the N.Y. **Times** reported on June 11, 1951, that a number of Senators regarded Turkey as America's lifebelt.

Turkey was one of the unfortunate satellites which sent soldiers to fight in Korea. McArthur sacrificed the 8,000-man Turkish Brigade when he was thrown back from the Yalu; according to the **Times**, the Brigade was destroyed as a fighting unit.

According to the UN Review of Economic Conditions in the Middle East (1953), Turkey's average income per head is $2 a week—including the rich as well as the poor. Why then should Turkey, with such stark poverty to contend with, and with a friendly and peaceful neighbor beside her, suddenly become the pivot of British strategy?

STALEMATE: To answer this, we must look at what has been going on both in Asia and in the Middle East, for Turkey is involved in both. Under pressure from the U.S. it has agreed to a military pact with Pakistan; it is tied to a military alliance with Greece and Yugoslavia; and it is a member of NATO. Washington is now pressing hard for an agreement to bring Iran into this military alliance.

The war plans have gone wrong in Asia, for despite the U.S. boycott the nations at Geneva insisted on making peace in Indo-China. In Germany, there is stalemate. Washington's program expected the first of the W. German divisions to be formed by now; but the people of W. Europe have fought back, and the plans to launch war in Europe temporarily frustrated. And so we find the military leaders' eyes focused on the third world danger spot, the Middle East.

"EMINENTLY SUITABLE": Before 1939, there was plenty of wild talk about bombing Soviet oilfields from Middle East bases; it went on right up to June, 1941, when the U.S.S.R. became our ally. The N.Y. **Times** said (2/1/42):

> "Washington circles regard the area around the head of the Persian Gulf as eminently suitable for air bases from which to attack the Russian oil fields, and refineries at Batum and Baku."

Against that background, examine what the **Observer** said (8/1/54):

> "During the past six years, American aid has begun to transform Turkey from an industrially backward country into a modern state with a network of roads where there were camel tracks, and with tractors replacing bullocks at the plough. But the part for which Turkey has been cast is very large for a country of 20 million people. If Turkey is to be the hinge of Balkan and Middle East defense she must have firm allies. That is why the Balkan pact between Turkey, Greece and Yugoslavia is very important for the whole of Western strategy. To the East, Turkey is seeking allies in Pakistan and Persia (Iran)."

United Nations photo

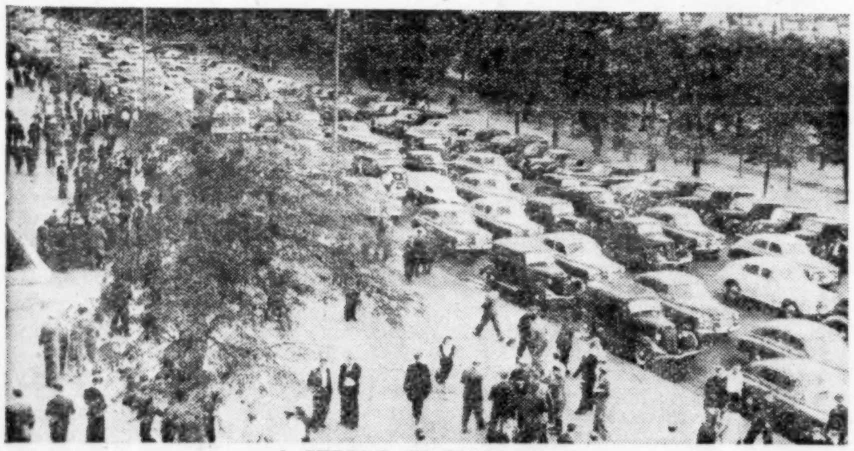
A STREET SCENE IN ISTANBUL, TURKEY'S CAPITAL
For them Washington is building military highways

THE NEW DANGER: Now it is plain why Washington has been flooding Greece and Yugoslavia with arms, building military roads and bomber bases there; and why the heat was turned on Pakistan when India torpedoed the plan for a war alliance in S.E. Asia. The danger is very real that those who plan war will try to stage a provocation in Turkey or Iran.

But there was another speech in the Suez debate that will be heard in all these lands. Winston Churchill swept away all other arguments with his brief declaration of how his whole attitude had been changed by the knowledge of the appalling developments resulting from the H-bomb. Circles close to Churchill say he not only learned this in Washington, but also was terrified at the calm acceptance that the U.S. would use the bomb.

What do Libya, Jordan, Aden, Cyprus, Yugoslavia, Greece think about being given front-line positions in such a war? What do the Turkish people think about their role as strategic hinge for the new war plans? I talked at the World Peace Council meeting to delegates from these lands. They are waging the struggle for peace, despite terror and persecution. If the people are alerted to the danger, they will defeat the war plans in the Middle East as they did in Asia.

Get a horse, tovarich!


A STREET IN MOSCOW

CHICAGO, July 23—Communist line radio announcers have been trying to scare millions of Americans out of their priceless heritage of driving their cars during the holidays. This technique not only undermines the American way of life; it attacks the free enterprise system.

These communist line announcers using the well-known fear technique, have been saying that hundreds would be killed on the highways. The Communists don't want Americans to enjoy motoring, a pleasure reserved in Russia for top commisars only. Next thing they'll be telling Americans to give up their homes since more Americans are killed at home than on the highways.

The communist inspired attack on our free enterprise system is more deadly than a few hundred highway deaths. If Americans don't go motoring, the bulwarks of free enterprise will collapse. The oil companies and the auto manufacturers will go out of business. When they do, the Communists will take over. Then Americans won't die on the highways, they will die in concentration camps. **Mark Taber**

—Letter in Chicago Tribune, *July 25*

FRANCO IS CHEATED

A life is saved at the 11th hour

ON MAY 28 the phone of a GUARDIAN editor rang and a voice said: "You don't know me. I'm calling from Ellis Island. I'm not calling about myself. I'm going to be deported and I want to get out; but I'm trying to save a man's life here. . . ."

The story unfolded: A man named Carlos Soulé Echeverria was to be deported on June 1 to Spain. Echeverria, 54, entered the U.S. legally in the early 1920's. When the Spanish Civil War broke out he volunteered for the Loyalist Army and returned to fight against Franco. After the war, he encountered difficulty in trying to reenter the U.S. and found his way to South America.

In 1950 he came back into the U.S. through Mexico. He was arrested for deportation in March, 1954, in Elco, Nev., sent to Salt Lake City and from there to San Francisco. On May 27 he was flown to Ellis Island for deportation to Spain and—as a Loyalist fighter—almost certain death.

In all the time since March he had been held virtually incommunicado, denied his right to legal defense.

A LIFE IS SAVED: The GUARDIAN immediately contacted the N.Y. Committee for Protection of Foreign Born and exec. secy. Alec Jones set wheels in motion. It was 3 p.m. Friday, the eve of a long holiday week-end. A writ of habeas corpus had to be prepared, a judge found to sign it, and it had to be served on officials at Ellis Island.

CARLOS SOULE ECHEVERRIA
The butcher was left waiting

At 3:15, attorney Isidore Needleman was reached. He caught the last ferry to the island to talk with Echeverria. At 5:30 he called attorney Ira Gollobin to begin the legal action. The writ was drawn up. At noon Saturday a judge was found to sign it and Gollobin was on his way to Ellis Island to serve it. Echeverria was saved.

Further action was delayed until Echeverria had to time to find a country which would take him. Application was made in mid-June to Mexico; on July 29, the Mexican authorities approved. In Mexico a job was waiting for him. The Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade undertook to get Echeverria clothing, new glasses, etc. As Echeverria awaited the necessary papers, the N.Y. Committee for Protection of Foreign Born was attempting to raise $250 for his air passage and expenses. Their address: 23 W. 26th St., N.Y. 10, N.Y.

JAPAN: Rotten rule propped up by Washington's cash; War-sick people longing to live in peace

By Kumar Goshal

IN this season of visiting foreign dignitaries to Washington, an important one next month will be Japan's Premier Shigeru Yoshida, coming to "negotiate a U.S. aid program of more than one billion dollars" (**INS, 7/13**).

In U.S. foreign policy Yoshida's Japan is the Asian equivalent of Adenauer's Germany; Eisenhower recently called it the key to defense of the western Pacific. The pro-U.S. London **Economist** (6/5), conceding that "Yoshida is perhaps no Dr. Adenauer," nevertheless believed "it is as much to the interests of Britain and the U.S. to keep him in power" as to keep Adenauer. Washington, wrote Scripps-Howard Foreign Editor Ludwell Denny (7/20), "is more worried about Japan than about Indo-China. America's Pacific defense . . . would be shaken without Japan."

THIN TIMES: Washington has reason to be worried about Japan. The end of the Korean War boom, restrictions imposed by sterling countries on Japanese imports into their territories, financial indebtedness to other countries have all played havoc with Japanese economy:

- U.S. orders for military goods and services dropped from $500 million in 1953 to less than $250 million in the fiscal year ending July 1; the days of lavish spending by GIs on leave are gone.
- A June White Paper reported $1,140,000,000 excess of imports over exports (N.Y. **World-Telegram, 6/21**).
- Indonesia is asking $18 billion in reparations, the Philippines $2 billion (turning down Japan's offer of $400 million). The U.S. wants $708 million in repayment of its $2 billion loans and credits to Japan; Yoshida will reportedly offer Washington $450 million (**N.Y. Times, 8/1**).

Serious charges of corruption have been made against top members of the government. Early this year a multimillion-yen shipping scandal nearly toppled the Yoshida regime; shipbuilders were reported to have spent $28 million for "bribes and entertainment of officials" to get cheap government loans (**Worldwide Press Service, 3/17**). In April the government survived a no-confidence motion by only 228 to 208 votes, with 25 abstentions and four recorded vacancies.

SLIGHTLY UNCONSTITUTIONAL: Yoshida has tried to ride the economic and political storm by resurrecting the pre-war Zaibatsu (giant cartels), by rearming in hope of U.S. money aid, and by pushing Washington-style restrictive legislation to "provide the legal and social basis for a rearmed nation" (**WPS, 7/17**). The Japanese constitution of 1946 "renounces war forever," declares the country "will never maintain land, sea, air or other potential forces of war."

The Paris **Tribune des Nations** (7/16) lists "the new Japanese army" as consisting of 110,000 ground troops (a larger force than Japan had before invading Manchuria), an air force of 6,725 men (by the end of this year; 40,000 planned by 1955). These forces—planned soon to be larger than the armed forces of any neutral Asian nation, and geared to a far greater industrial potential— are almost entirely manned and led by veterans of the military and "thought-control" machine of World War II Japan.

JAPAN'S PREMIER SHIGERU YOSHIDA
What'll it be, boys? Washington's picking up the tab

THE NEW DEBAUCH: Newsweek (4/12) reported that the Zaibatsu such as Mitsui, Mitsubishi, and Sumitomo, broken up after the war, are being reformed "through the banks . . . by means of stockholdings in, and loans to, previously affiliated companies." "Disturbing memories are evoked," the N.Y. **Herald Tribune** (7/31) commented, by the Japanese government's promotion of former giant cartels that "served their owners and the state as powerful instruments of aggressive trade policy and military expansion." The Yoshida government's entire policy has been so unsavory that the London **Economist's** Tokyo correspondent was obliged to report (6/5):

> "The general impression is that [Yoshida's] Liberal Party, under American pressure, has debauched all the nation's democratic and traditional values."

But the opposition continued so strong that Yoshida's pilgrimage to Washington might do little to stabilize his regime. The Mutual Security treaty with the U.S. was ratified by the upper house with one fewer than an actual majority—of 250 members, 124 voted in favor, 53 against and 58 abstained. In the lower house the margin was narrow, while

> ". . . a lineup of speakers from the press and academic circles denounced the pact as increasing international tension, cutting off Japan from normal relations with Asia and making the nation 'the orphan of the Far East'" (**NYT, 4/4**).

THOSE WHO REAP: The influential newspaper **Asahi,** reflecting public opinion, doubted if the treaty "will have much effect on the growing hard times here. . . . It is expected, however, that munitions makers will reap the lion's share of the profits" (**NYT, 3/10**). Although it is suspected that Yoshida "would actually like to toss out the constitution," if there were a popular plebiscite "the majority would almost certainly vote to keep the present constitution with its emphasis on the renunciation of war" (**WPS, 7/17**). When it became evident that Yoshida was going to drop the bribery charges against his colleagues—as he did soon afterwards — all the major dailies (**Asahi, Mainichi, Yomiuri**) demanded that he dissolve the Diet (Parliament).

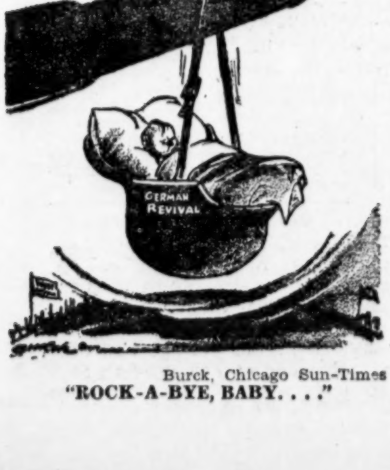
Efforts to weaken the powerful Gen. Council of Trade Unions (Sohyo) by organizing a rival All-Japan Trade Union Council (Zenro) have failed so far. Fear that Yoshida seeks to conquer labor by dividing it has brought Sohyo and Zenro together in the struggle to maintain labor's rights. Sohyo favors re-establishment of normal political and trade relations with the U.S.S.R. and China, and its policy has been increasingly favored among most political parties.

"A GREAT PLEASURE": On Japan the pull of normal trade relations with socialist countries is strong. Last month a parliamentary delegation visited Moscow and Peking, and a Soviet trade mission is expected in Japan this month. A $40 million barter deal with the U.S.S.R. has already been worked out, and the Hitachi Co. of Osaka has arranged to build tugs and fishing boats for the Soviet Union. The Japanese foreign office found "great pleasure" in the Indo-China truce and declared its willingness "to live and seek prosperity together with Red nations in Asia as in other parts of the world" (N.Y. **World-Telegram 7/21**).

With Japan facing "economic collapse by next summer" (**NYT, 8/9**), an alarmed White House ordered government depts. "to find a speedy but practical solution." They could find only three alternatives (**NYT, 8/9**):

> 1. Asking Britain, France and others to buy more Japanese goods in return for greater sale of European goods in the U.S.; 2. "Direct financial aid to Japan, [which] would be preferable to letting her slip into the Soviet orbit"; 3. Direct aid and drastic restriction on imports to Japan.

Japan, like Britain, must increase export volume to attain a balanced economy; and "export of capital goods to countries undergoing development seems to offer the best prospects for the great expansion necessary" (Report of the UN Econ. Comm. for Asia & the Far East, 1953). To attain this goal Japan, like the rest of the world, must have peace.

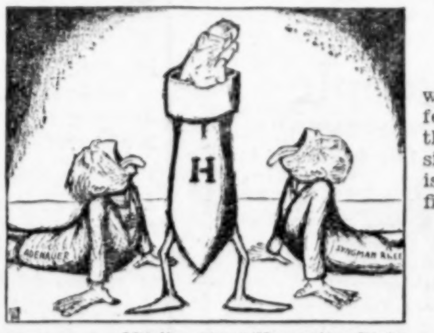


Burck, Chicago Sun-Times
"ROCK-A-BYE, BABY. . . ."

'Why can't you stop making this thing . . .?'

IN the May and June issues of the **Canadian Far East Newsletter** (134 Glenholme Av., Toronto 10, Canada), editor James G. Endicott—who attended the recent World Pacifist Conference there—reports on some of the effects of A- and H-bombs in and near Japan. From the conservative women's monthly **Fujin Kurabu** (5/54) he reprints this letter from the wife of one of the fishermen burned by ashes from the Bikini explosion:

> "I hardly recognized him on his return, his hair fallen out and looking 50 years old. . . . He becomes so lonely I am afraid he may lose his mind. . . . I know he is crying out loudly in heart, 'I want to live!' I turn my eyes away—it is too horrible to watch. . . . All the H-bomb patients want to live. What are you going to do about them? What can we do? Don't use them just for guinea pigs! I heard that the U.S. plans more H-bomb tests. At that, a chill ran over me. I want the U.S. to stop all the tests. Why can't you stop making this thing that will destroy not only human beings but all living things?"



Mitelberg in L'Humanite, Paris
"Some hydrogen—quick! This atmosphere of peace is stifling us!"

TOLL OF THE "BABY": At Hiroshima, where the first A-bomb was dropped nine years ago this month, Endicott and fellow-delegates saw

> ". . . boys and girls, in their early teens in 1945, still taking treatment —but normal living is beyond their hopes. Since the treatment is at their own expense many are unable to afford it. Many of them feel they are being used as guinea pigs in research. Of 2,383 patients who have been examined by the Atomic Bomb Casualty Commission since 1945, 689 still await treatment."

Endicott learned at Hiroshima that while 60,000 were burned alive in the few minutes after the bomb dropped, the total toll including those who have since been "dying of radio-sickness" is estimated at 400,000 dead from that first A-bomb:

> "There are still 8,000 people known to be dragging out a miserable existence half way to death from the results of the bomb. Some are dying of lung cancer, from which many of the victims have died since 1945. Only 52 have recovered from serious effects. Thousands are unable to do concentrated work because of the effect on their blood. Sterility and birth of horribly distorted children have also been traced to the effects of radioactivity. From the sum total of human misery in the wake of one such explosion, now known as the 'baby A-bomb,' the Japanese tragedy shows that sudden and violent death over large areas is by no means the only outcome to be dreaded if such weapons are ever used again."

FARMER KICKED IN TEETH—CONSUMER IN THE STOMACH

Ike's farm bill passed; Benson gets tsar's power

WITH a crushing final vote of 62 to 28, the Senate last week, following earlier House action, made a shambles of the U.S. farm program inaugurated in the Roosevelt New Deal era and developed carefully and painstakingly over many years. By enacting the Administration's plan for flexible price supports—from 82.5 to 90 per cent of parity—and granting Agriculture Secy. Ezra Benson more power than any previous secretary ever possessed, the 83d Congress kicked the farmer in the teeth and the consumer in the stomach.

Farm income, which has fallen 20 per cent since 1951, will now be further decreased and the food supply for all the people will be lowered. But to President Eisenhower—who in a memorable campaign speech pledged to farmers "not merely 90 per cent of parity, but full parity"—the Congressional vote was a "great and sweeping victory."

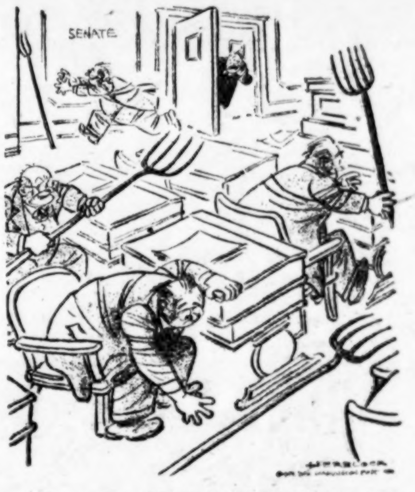
The new program now goes to a House-Senate conference committee to iron out some minor differences.

DEMOCRATIC SILENCE: A small solid core of farm bloc Senators fought to the end for a continuance of mandatory 90 per cent supports for basic crops, but the Administration succeeded in lining up enough Democrats to enact the Benson program. C. B. Baldwin, natl. secy. of the Progressive Party and former administrator of the Farm Security Administration under Roosevelt, pointed out while the fight was still on:

> "The national leadership of the Democratic Party cannot escape responsibility for the Administration's drive to wreck the Roosevelt farm program. . . . Although a number of individual Democrats and Republicans are making an honest effort to defeat the Eisenhower-Benson proposals, the Democratic Party leadership by and large has been strangely silent, making little attempt to rally their strength in the country and in Congress."

Baldwin warned on July 30:

> "This program makes a mockery of the whole parity principle, for instead of equal treatment for all, it plays upon sectional interests, favoring some, like the wool growers, and discriminating against others, for example, dairy men, cattle men, poultry men, and growers of fruits and vegetables. To put over this fraud, the Administration has sought to incite city consumers against the working farmers, while doing nothing to curb the record-breaking profits of the food trusts which have continued to widen farm-to-market price spreads. . . . It provides the toughest controls and stiffest penalties ever written into law. It is intended to combine the minimum of price supports with the maximum of reduction. It is a shameful betrayal of the 'full parity' promise that Eisenhower made to the farmers in his pre-election speech at Kasson, Minn., on Sept. 6, 1952."



Herblock in Washington Post

"Farm program's coming."

THE UNFAIR SHARE: Administration spokesmen argued that flexible supports, under which prices to farmers can be raised or lowered, are necessary to bring about a balance between production and consumption and to end the accumulation of surpluses. But opponents countered with proof that flexible supports will not discourage production, reduce surpluses, bring price reductions to consumers or increase consumption. James M. Youngdale, a Benson, Minn., farmer, put it simply in a letter to the N.Y. Times on July 8:

> "Farm prices at 90 per cent of parity are already too low to assure the average farmer enough income to cover his farm expenses and to leave a net income for family living. . . . A high level of farm purchasing power is an integral part of a healthy economy. With farmers getting less than half of their fair share of the national income at present it is incomprehensible that the Eisenhower Administration should be wanting to reduce farm income still further under their flexible parity proposals."

ANOTHER CHAPTER: Sen. Milton R. Young (R-N.D.), who led the fight against the Benson program, remarked that the Eisenhower "victory in the farm battle will turn to bitter defeat" this November. The AFL executive council, meeting in New York, declared on Aug. 11 that the 83d Congress has "failed the workers, the farmers and the nation's consumers" and "has earned a vote of censure from the American people." **Facts for Farmers** in its current issue says:

> "The final chapter has not yet been written on the price support fight. In the elections this fall, it will not be forgotten. No candidate, whether a Democrat or Republican, will be able to duck it in the rural areas. Moreover, the farmers will want to know not only how the candidate voted but also what he has done to rally support at the grass-roots level and within his party to advance the farmers' fight for full parity."

●

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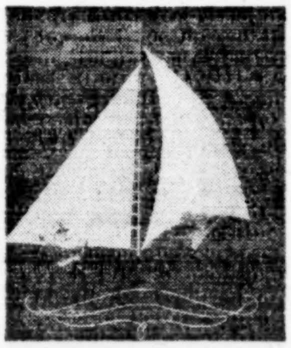

No, but August is not a bit too early for business and professional people to start shopping for the personalized greeting card which best suits their needs.

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WHITE MOUNTAINS—Swimming, hiking, fishing, sight-seeing tours. We wish to thank Guardian readers for their cooperation in filling us to capacity until Aug. 14. Now have a few vacancies for Aug., Sept. & Oct. Pollen free area, foliage tours in Oct. Children welcome. Good food, reasonable rates. Write J. Timms, Wentworth, N. H. Rockwell 4-2544.

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Marc's service night in the 18th — no one was ever turned away

THE LOSS WAS PERSONAL, THE GRIEF SILENT

Thousands pass Marc's bier

A SAD-FACED, gentle Negro woman said: "When the news came to my neighborhood in East New York, the streets were suddenly so quiet you could hear a pin drop. The children stopped playing."

She talked in the anteroom of the Ralph Giordano Funeral Home at 115th St. and First Av. as the people walked solemnly by on their way into the room where Vito Marcantonio lay in state. They had come by the hundreds on Monday evening and Tuesday morning ever since the news broke that Marc would be waiting in his district for a last farewell.

Though the newspapers said the public would not be admitted to the funeral home until 3 p.m. people waited patiently in the street. When Mrs. Marc and Marc's white-haired mother came at noon, they stayed alone in the funeral parlor for only a few minutes, then asked that the doors be opened.

CHURCH DENIES RITES: After that, they came in an unbroken stream of people. Boys of no more than 12, with swimming trunks and towels under their arms, came by asking attendants: "Can we see him?" Whole families came in and, as they filed past the flower-bedecked bier, fathers held up their children to say good bye.

An 80-year-old man, his hair all white, crossed himself and knelt in prayer beside the bronze casket. He stayed there for a long time while others knelt beside him more briefly and moved on.

While the solemn procession moved by making the sign of the cross, word spread that the Catholic Church had denied the rights to a requiem mass. (The funeral had originally been planned to take place in the nearby Church of Our Lady of Mt. Carmel.) When the GUARDIAN called to verify the story, a spokesman for Chancellor Msgr. Maguire at the Archdiocese office said Marcantonio would be "refused Christian burial" because "he had not practiced his religion in many years and he was not reconciled to the Church before he died."

THE WORKERS COME: Throughout the long afternoon Marc's mother, a frail woman in her 80's, stayed with her son and wept. Marc had always described himself as a Catholic. He was born and baptized in the Church. His family and many of those who mourned at his bier were Catholics.

As five o'clock came, men still in their work clothes swelled the crowd in the anteroom. Whole families came together: old men hobbling on canes, younger men in shirt sleeves carrying the youngest children, wives leading the older ones by the hand.

In the crowd were men in business suits from downtown carrying their brief cases and their newspapers, who had known Marc as a colleague. The men and women from Marc's clubs—his old campaigners, who had built their lives around him—stayed there all afternoon and evening with his widow and mother. Some of the mourners came to them and spoke of their feeling of loneliness. One man said: "Now that Marc's gone, there's nobody to vote for. . . . I don't think I'll vote again."

IT MUST GO ON: Others said that what Marc built ought not to go, that the Marcantonio clubs would have to go on. And one woman said that if Mrs. Marc ran in that district the people would elect her in his name.

The flowers and messages poured in, the cameramen and the cops gathered outside in the street. A young reporter for one of the dailies said: "I never knew enough about politics to agree or disagree with him, but I always admired his courage."

The old campaigners and many of the reporters who had followed Marc's career drew a certain satisfaction when word came that Marc would be buried in Woodlawn Cemetery, barely 50 feet away from Fiorello La Guardia, with whom he had worked, from whom he had learned how to fight skillfully in a good cause.

THE FULL CIRCLE: Arthur Schutzer, Marc's law associate, who had shared with him the leadership of the ALP, said: "It rounds out the theme of his life."

By 11 p.m. Tuesday, 10,000 had passed by Marc's bier and thousands more were expected before the funeral Thursday afternoon.

While Marc spent his last days in his district black-bordered placards appeared in shop windows reading: "We Mourn Our Loss." On one newsstand there was a crudely penciled sign that might have referred to Marc. It said: "Closed because of a death in the family."

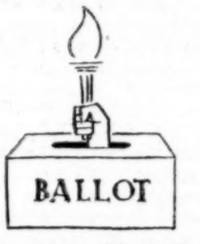
WITH SEN. PEPPER OF FLORIDA IN 1947

At the Washington meeting where this photo was taken Marc called for the formation of a third party.

Marc's death

(Continued from Page 1)

GI Bill of Rights, the Wagner Act, penny milk for school children, low-rent housing and rent control and hurricane relief. He wrote a bill for an FEPC which FDR later used as the basis for legislation outlawing discrimination in war contract jobs.



He fought in the open and he invented political techniques for winning battles by maneuver. The cagey politicians fought him with grudging respect.

By 1946 the New Deal was fading into the Truman cold war. Marc lost the GOP primary that year but won the Democratic and ALP designations. In October, in Madison Sq. Garden, he made the key speech of his campaign. This is the full text:

"There is only one issue in this campaign — collaboration of this nation with the Soviet Union for peace and the defeat of domestic fascism."

THE GANG-UP: He won that year by 6,000 votes. By 1947 the N. Y. State Legislature had made it impossible for a candidate to enter a party's primary without approval of the bosses. It was a desperate step to get rid of Marc after the smear campaigns and the gerrymandering had failed. Marc had only the ALP designation in 1948; against him was every big newspaper and radio station, every politician in the city.

Still, he spoke out for peace and civil liberties and his people sent him back. But the politicians were not completely licked. In 1950 the Democratic, Liberal and Republican parties, in an unprecedented gang-up, joined forces behind James George Donovan. Though Marc, running on the ALP line, polled 35,835 votes—far more than any other single party—he lost. Donovan got 50,391 votes on his three lines.

Marc went back to his law office. He was state chairman of the American Labor Party. In 1953 he left the ALP because of disagreement on policy, and last spring founded the Good Neighbor Party as an independent political vehicle. He saw the tide turning and went back to his district.

Four years of Donovan—four years without Marc—had done things in the 18th. The people had tasted the bitterness of a Congressman who voted against them in Washington and was never in his district when his neighbors needed him. The memory of Marc's days was green and the red smear seemed empty in the mouth of a Congressman nobody trusted.

"WE SURE NEED HIM": The Marcantonio Political Assn. and the Good Neighbor Party went into action. Petitions were printed. People were talking about Marc everywhere in the district. **A GUARDIAN** photographer on assignment in Marc's district found women putting their heads out of windows to talk to her. One said: "If she's from Marc, tell her to tell him we got no hot water." Another said: "We sure need him."

Marc smiled when he heard that story. Three days later he lay dead in the street.

After his defeat in 1949 Marc said what might stand as his epitaph:

"I campaigned for peace. The people want peace. I campaigned for honest, decent government. The people want that too. What we stand for, what I fought for —the people want those things."

Good pickin'!

HEALDSBURG, Calif.

Once more I apologize for asking you to change my address so many times. I am one of those so-called "shiftless fruit tramps" that move from job to job as the fruit is ready to pack in different areas and different crops. I hate to bother you so much but I can't get along without my GUARDIAN.

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"STAUNTON IS A CRACKER TOWN"

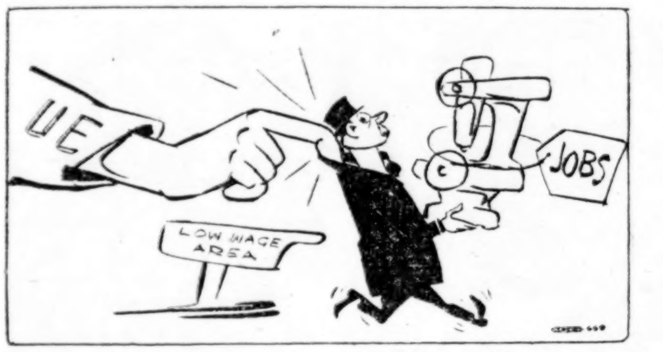
Amer. Safety Razor runaway from B'klyn to Virginia threatens jobs of 1,000 here

THE American Safety Razor Corp., in search of cheap labor, has announced plans to flee downtown Brooklyn for Staunton, Va., next spring. It has told its 1,000 New York employes they can follow it to Staunton.

To Nancy Anderson, of the 5th floor blades dept., this is an invitation to go back where she came from: she hales from Lynchburg, a few miles from Staunton. As a Negro she knows the town from the bottom up. About 200 of her fellow-workers at ASR are Negro or Puerto Rican and, if they move, would come to know it that way too. She said:

"Staunton is a cracker town: you stay on your side of town and I stay on mine. Everything's segregated — movies, schools, restaurants, jobs. The only kind of job a colored person can get is porter or domestic work. That pays about $15 a week.

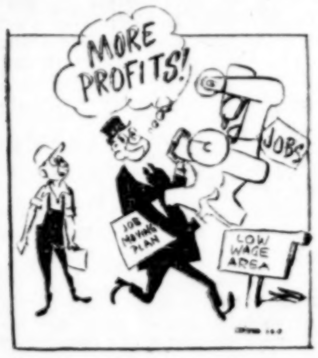
"White people won't like it down there either. Outsiders aren't welcome. They resent Northerners, and the town is small enough so they got their eye on you all the time. In Staunton you can look down the main street from one end of town to the other. Housing is terrible. If you're rich you live in a big house. If you are not, you live in a shack.... Anybody who goes down there would have to be crazy."



"DO NOT COME": Local 475, United Electrical Workers, is fighting to keep the plant in Brooklyn, sent a delegation of six to Staunton to look the place over. They found the newly-built ASR plant "a very nice, impressive-looking, one-story building with plenty of area around it." The rest of their report was dismal.

Staunton has a population of 25,000, of which 2,000 are Negroes. There are 12-15 Italian families, 25-30 Jewish families, a few Irish and "the rest call themselves Anglo-Saxon." Father McConnell, one of the few Catholic priests in town ("he originally comes from Flatbush and he gave it to us straight"), told the delegates new people "may get along if they live according to the native customs." But he said Negroes wouldn't have a chance. To them McConnell advised: "Do not come."

CHEAPER WHISKEY: Rents range from $40-$80 for a 3-4 room apartment, $75-$120 for a 5-room house, but a real estate agent said there were no rental vacancies anywhere in town. You could buy an old house or build a new one for $10,000 up.



The Supt. of Schools said there was just enough schoolroom to handle the present population though another school was in the planning stage. He added that, of course, schools were segregated.

At a clothing factory the workers, all members of the CIO Amalgamated Clothing Workers, told the visitors this story: strictly piece work, no base rate, top weekly earning $50. The manager confirmed the figures, added he could hire no Negroes except as porters. A pajama factory in Staunton pays 75-90c an hour; other shops that do not deal in interstate commerce dip below the 75c minimum wage.

The Va. State Employment office reported unemployment so high that if ASR and the new Westinghouse and GE plants going up in the area hired only local labor, there would still be 3,900 unemployed in Staunton. The delegates found prices as high or as higher than Brooklyn's, concluded: "The only things cheaper there are cigarettes, Coca-Cola and whiskey."

FIGHT TO STAY: Their report stiffened UE's battle on the local, district and international level to keep the plant in Brooklyn. In conference with the company, UE Local 475 negotiators insisted that the runaway plan be dropped, served notice that even if the company left town, the severance-pay offer of one weeks' pay for each year of service was unacceptable.

The union demanded two weeks' pay for every year and set a minimum at $63 per week, the average wage in the shop. It insisted that older employes have the right to take severance pay or their pension and that all employes who follow the company to Staunton keep the right to severance pay at the union rate if they decide to quit within a year.

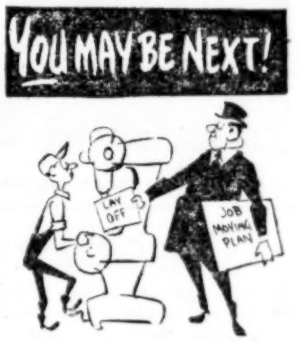
The company broke off negotiations, charged the union with "sabotage" and a slowdown, threatened to speed up its departure and fire 400 workers "within the week."

"REDS," ETC.: The Daily News, unconcerned about the threat of runaway shops to the community, promptly ran an editorial (8/4) headed: "WITH REDS IT'S RULE OR RUIN." The newspaper made no pretense of checking the story but said: "We see no reason to doubt the ASR charges." The same day's Brooklyn Eagle reported ASR counsel Charles Goldberg as saying "no charge of sabotage against the union or any of the individual workers" had been made.

Cliff Cameron, business agent of Local 475, wrote Congressmen from Brooklyn and elsewhere urging a full-scale probe of the runaway threat. Simultaneously UE's rival, the CIO Intl. Union of Electrical Workers, voiced similar fears. IUE released what it said were minutes of a secret conference of high General Electric officials held in Schenectady last April 21-23. The document reported A. F. Vinson, GE vice-pres. in charge of manufacturing, as calling for "further physical decentralization of plant, with more 'small plant' atmosphere." He produced a chart showing that "if we can increase the productivity of our workers by 100% in the next 10-year period we will not need to increase our labor force over the present level.... Expenditures should be directed to mechanization, new methods, renovation and new plant only for relocation of businesses in more favorable areas."

Another executive, translating the big-business jargon, said "more favorable areas" meant "more favorable labor markets." GE is also planning a new plant in "more favorable" Staunton.

RESPONSIVE CONGRESSMEN: Textile, hat and electrical runaways have already affected many New England towns. The widespread nature of the threat brought quick responses from many Congressmen to Local 475's plea for a probe.



Rep. Emanuel Celler (D-N.Y.) backed the move and said he favored a higher federal minimum wage to weaken the southern lure of cheap labor. Sen. Kennedy (D-Mass.), his state's textile workers already badly hit, promised to press for the investigation. Other Congressmen were similarly sympathetic.

Local 475 also called for a municipal investigation and sought to rally popular support. ASR makes Gem razors and blades, also Treet, Pal, Silver Star, Blue Star and Personna blades, Eveready brushes, ASR Ascot lighters.

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Slanted news?

CHICAGO, ILL.

Recognizing that I get from the GUARDIAN aspects of news stories that the daily press refuses to print, I often feel very critical of it for what appears to me to be a pro-communist news slant. I am still renewing my subscription, however, for I find enough value in getting another side of the world news picture, and one which I believe is frequently more accurate and biased in favor of the people.

Rae Fisher

SMART SHOPPERS USE
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THE SORROW IS DEEP

Comments on Marc

VITO MARCANTONIO's career touched every sector of progressive America. Statements of shock and grief came almost as quickly as the news of his death.

For the Progressive Party, Elmer Benson, chairman, and C. B. Baldwin, secy., said: "The Progressive Party mourns the loss of a great fighter for peace and brotherhood. . . . Those of us who worked with him knew him as a man of honesty and integrity who never deviated from his principles."

The ALP, in a formal statement signed by 11 officials, said: "His devotion to the people was in the great tradition of Jefferson, Lincoln and Roosevelt."

CONGRESS EULOGY: Three New York City Democrats who served in Congress with Marcantonio paid tribute to him in the House. Rep. Multer said he was "truly a good American." Rep. Celler: "[Marcantonio] always fought hard and fair for what he thought was fair." Rep. Klein said he was proud to call Marcantonio a friend and that there were others in the House who shared his view though "perhaps everyone will not admit it."

In a telegram to Mrs. Marcantonio Paul Robeson said: "His passing is a great loss to us all and for me a great personal loss." Sen. Gilberto Concepcion de Gracia, leader of the Independence Party of Puerto Rico wired: "Puerto Rico has lost a friend and a champion of her independence."

Harry Bridges and other officers of the Intl. Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union said: "If we had only 100 like him our people would long since have beaten off the reactionaries who honored him with their hatred. He honored us with his love and his love for the common man will be his monument."

Albert Fitzgerald, president of the United Electrical Workers: "Friend and foe alike must agree that Marc carried on the fighting tradition of the American labor movement."

The Joint Board of Fur Dressers & Dyers Union said: "Marc's death leaves a void in American life which cannot be filled."

William Z. Foster, national chairman of the Communist Party, said: "Marc's whole active life has been one of tireless activity and endless devotion to the cause of the workers, the Negro people and the oppressed generally. . . ."

THE UNQUOTED: Judges, lawyers and politicians who had fought him paid their respects, but few would allow themselves to be quoted. State Sen. Santangelo, representing Marc's district, said: "He was one of the most forceful characters we have ever had in New York."

June was a real nice clambake, but . . .

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White Lake Lodge
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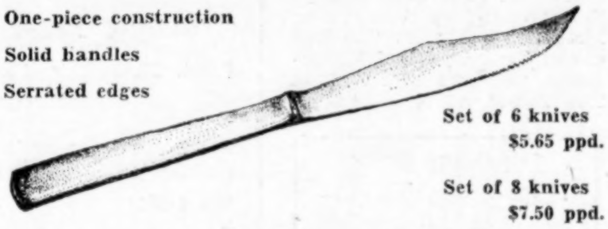

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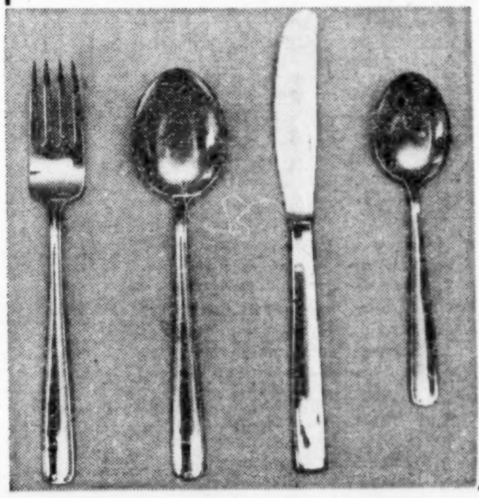

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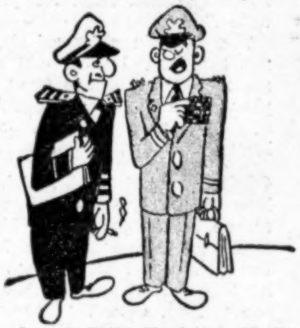
the SPECTATOR

The great American vacuum

FROM PARIS comes a report that 60,000 persons attended a book fair held at the Velodrome d'Hiver, ordinarily the home of six-day bicycle races. The N. Y. **Times** tells us that this "Six Hours of Books" was organized by "members of the Natl. Committee of Writers, a group formed during World War II when hundreds of French writers put aside professional and political differences to join the secret resistance movement."

Mentioned as the most prominent participants were the writer Sartre and the painters Picasso and Leger—all anti-war progressives today. It seems Paris artists share not only the memory of a common underground fight against fascism but the current above-ground experience of preserving cultural traditions and human decency. These are big men who stand up and count for something.

For the most part American intellectuals are little men who aren't there, especially when the McCarthys are around. Most of them have taken to the hills where, for years, they have been contemplating their novels and their easels. Some have moved into rabbit hutches. And the brave ones who have remained to slug it out, who have proved to Congressional committees and trustees and movie executives that they would sooner give up their livelihood than their liberty—these have been blacklisted, gagged, excoriated, imprisoned.



Labor's Daily, Charleston, W. Va.

". . . And this blue one is for appearing before a Congressional Committee."

THE ABSENCE of these artist-citizens, voluntary or enforced, has created a huge vacuum, large enough to accommodate a cultural carnival for 160 million customers. By default, if not by design, this would be run by the anti-communist crusaders. These tough-minded Americans look down on the Paris one-shot show. They want a continuous performance.

They reject the soft foreign notion of offering a variety of books for all tastes; they prefer one theme for everybody—the Red Menace. They are suspicious of the "Six Hours of Books" boosting its sales by having friendly stage and screen stars as well as the authors autograph the books. Over here they will all be cleared by the FBI.

During the twenties the racketeers bottled everything short of sulphuric acid and sold it to the public for liquor. Nowadays every anti-Soviet concoction that can be pressed between covers is represented as a book. We have marched from the prohibition era to the era of Roy Cohn, or from racketeer Dutch Schultz to witch-hunter "Rabbi" Schultz in one generation.

The American book fair, like all carnivals would be a noisy honky-tonk. You might make out some cries like this while strolling along the Midway:

> "Hee-ya! Hee-ya! Step up and buy Herbert Philbrick's latest masterpiece, 'How I Set Massachusetts Back Three Hundred Years.'"
>
> "Hurry . . . hurry . . . hurry! Get your biography of that Man of Distinction—looks like, thinks like, acts like Adolphe Menjou—the one and only Judge Medina."
>
> "This way, partner. Special attraction today. Get your copy of the year's leading mystery, 'Gouzenko, the Northwest Mountie.' Read about Gouzenko—half-man, half flying saucer, and his adventures in the bear country."
>
> "Poems in the new style. Three hundred names, set to music by Louis Budenz. Complete and unexpurgated. And with every 300 names you get a bunch of ex-red roses to smell in your cell."

And so it will go. Of course, polite people avoid noisy carnivals as a rule. The catch here is that the plan calls for compulsory attendance. And it will be compulsory unless people stop running to the hills. In any case, it won't help: there are only ant hills left by now.

Must our "live musicians" die?

BRONX, N. Y.

In line with your program of alerting the public to the economic and political facts of life, I, as a musician and a music lover, would urge an expose of the crises developing in this field.

Musicians have been driven out of their field at an increasing rate since the advent of the technologically more advanced methods of reproducing music—radio, TV, etc.; and while one is happy that music reaches more people, the elimination of live musicians and "live music" is a problem of our nation's growing culture. It does not seem realizable to me, at least, to hope for a flowering of our national musical art, on the one hand, and the obliteration of the artists who play such an important part in the development of this art form, on the other.

The GUARDIAN would render invaluable aid in exposing the forces responsible for the passage of the Lea Act (the anti-Petrillo Bill) which has hurt the economic organization of the musicians so much. Also, the GUARDIAN could be helpful in alerting the readers to the fight for "live" music.

A national art form is dying; public concerts and dances, sponsored by unions and government agencies, are a must. City, state and national subsidies for music are on the order of the day.

Allan Kimmel

**The Belfrage Fight Back Fund needs your help.
We're going to fight all the way—will you?**